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Message Text

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11
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 ACDA-19 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 AF-10 ARA-16 EA-11 NEA-14 SAM-01

DRC-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /187 W
---------- 101691
R 170349Z AUG 74
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5121
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO
USCINCEUR UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 2859

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UN, CY
SUBJ: CYPRUS IN SC

SUMMARY: FRENCH DEL TOLD US THAT ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM PARIS
THEY WOULD PRESS FORWARD WITH DRAFT RES NOT MENTIONING TURKEY
BY NAME, BUT CLEARLY CRITICAL OF RECENT TURKISH CONDUCT.
FRENCH INSTRUCTIONS WERE TO GET RES THAT WOULD INCLUDE
GISCARD'S "FORMALLY DISAPPROVES" LANGUAGEAND BE SATISFACTORY
TO GREEK GOVT. US ARGUED FURTHER RES AT THIS TIME
UNNECESSARY AND IN FACT DANGEROUS. FRENCH PRESSED ON,
BUT MODIFIED LANGUAGE TO ACCOMMODATE SUBSTANTIALLY TO
USG WISHES. RES ADOPTED AS SC RES 360 11(US)-0-3(USSR,
BYELORUSSIA IRAQ); CHINA NOT PARTICIPATING. FRENCH AND TURKS
EXCHANGED SHARP RHETORIC. TURKEY SAID IT WOULD NOT RETURN
TO GENEVA ON BASIS RES 360, BUT WOULD DO SO GLADLY WHEN
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SC TOOK LESS-BIASED-VIEW OF SITUATION . END SUMMARY

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1. FRENCH CHARGE D AFFAIRES LECOMPT TOLD US AT
MID-DAY AUG 16 HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED PRESS FORWARD WITH
NEW VERSION OF RES HE HAD CIRCULATED PREVIOUS DAY. HE
INFORMED BOTH BRITISH AND US HE INTENDED NOT TO MENTION
TURKS BY NAME, TO ASK FOR WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS NOT
PERMANENTLY STATIONED IN CYPRUS, AND TO ASK THAT GENEVA
NEGOTIATIONS RESUME WITHOUT BEING AFFECTED IN ANY WAY BY
RESULTS OF MILITARY ACTION.

2. WE ARGUED AGAINST SECOND AND THIRD OF THESE THREE
POINTS. IN PARTICULAR, WE POINTED OUT THAT ANY DEPARTURE
FROM SC 353 LANGUAGE ON WITHDRAWAL OF MILITARY FORCES
MIGHT SEEM TO PLACE SC IN ROLE OF INTERPRETER OF TREATIES
OF GUARANTEE. WE ARGUED THAT EVEN IF TURKEY NOT IDENTIFIED,
RES STRONGLY HOSTILE TO TURKS MIGHT DIMINISH PROSPECTS
FOR BRINGING PARTIES BACK TO NEGOTIATING TABLE IN
GENERAL . WE URGED LECOMPT TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY WHETHER
RES OF ANY KIND NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE AT PRESENT.

3. LECOMPT SAID HE WAS UNDER FIRM INSTRUCTIONS TO GO
AHEAD. HIS INSTRUCTIONS WERE SIMPLE: TO GET A RES INCLUDING
GISCARD'S "FORMALLY DISAPPROVES" LANGUAGE AND TO PRODUCE
SOMETHING SATISFACTORY TO GREEKS.

4. LECOMPT LATER PROVIDES US WITH COPY OF DRAFT RES
WHICH MINIMIZED FEATURES WE HAD ARGUED AGAINST. HE
PERSUADED SCPRES MALIK (USSR) TO SCHEDULE MEETING FOR
3:30PM ON UNDERSTANDING THAT FRENCH AS SOLE SPONSOR
OF DRAFT RES WOULD ACCEPT NO AMENDMENTS FROM THE
FLOOR AND WOULD RESERVE SOLE RIGHT TO INTRODUCE AMENDMENTS
THEMSELVES. WHEN SC MEMBERS ARRIVED AT SC CHAMBER,
MALIK INSISTED ON GROUP CONSULTATIONS PRIOR TO MEETING
AND BEGAN LONG FILIBUSTER. US DEL WAS NOT OBLIGED TO
REVEAL OPENLY ITS OWN PREFERENCE FOR DELAY. SEVERAL
DELS INSISTED ON DELAY, PLEADING LACK OF INSTRUCTIONS.
FRENCH OBSTINATELY HELD OUT FOR IMMEDIATE MEETING AND AT
6:30PM AGREED TO HOUR'S RECESS ON UNDERSTANDING THAT AT
7:30PM COUNCIL WOULD CONVENE AND PUT SECOND REVISION OF
FRENCH RES TO VOTE BEFORE DEBATE.
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5. WHEN TURKS LEARNED OF RESUMED FRENCH INITIATIVE,
THEY INTENSIFIED CAMPAIGN TO MOBILIZE SUPPORT AMONG
NON-PERMS AND TO PERSUADE US TO ABSTAIN IF WE COULD NOT
PREVENT FRENCH DRAFT BEING BROUGHT TO VOTE. OLCAY TOLD
US FLATLY THAT IF ANY RES EVEN IMPLICITLY HOSTILE TO TURKEY
PASSED, TURKEY WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO RETURN TO GENEVA.
HE ALSO ARGUED THAT IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY UNFORTUNATE IF

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SOV UNION ABSTAINED ON AND US VOTTED FOR FRENCH RES. AMB SCALI RESPONDED THAT US DEL WOULD DO ITS BEST TO PREVENT RES COMING TO VOTE. HOWEVER, HE CONTINUED, IT WAS UNREALISTIC TO BELIEVE THERE NOT STRONG SENTIMENT IN COUNCIL SUPPORTING GENERAL THRUST OF FRENCH DRAFT. HE STRONGLY URGED OLCAY TO CONSIDER POSSIBILITY OF TREATING MILD HOSTILE RES AS OF LITTLE CONSEQUENCE AND TO MAINTAIN FLEXIBILITY ON QUESTION OF RETURNING TO GENEVA.

6. AT 8:00 PM MALIK ABANDONED FILIBUSTER AND CONVENED COUNCIL IN OPEN SESSION. REVISED FRENCH DRAFT WAS ADOPTED AS SC RES 360: 11(US)-0-3(USSR, BYELORUSSIA, IRAQ), WITH PRC NOT PARTICIPATING. IN SUBSEQUENT EXPLANATIONS OF VOTE, BOTH SOVS AND IRAQIS CLAIMED THEIR ABSTENTIONS OWED TO LACK OF INSTRUCTIONS. FRENCH REP LED OFF WITH LENGTHY EXPOSITION CONTAINING BITTER AND EMOTIONAL ANTI-TURKISH RHETORIC. KARAGIANNIS (GREECE) SPOKE IN MEASURED TERMS ABOUT HOPE FOR RETURN TO NEGOTIATING TABLE AS DID ROSSIDES (CYPRUS) THOUGH LATTER MADE PREDICTABLE REMARKS ABOUT INVALIDITY ZURICH ACCORDS. COSTA RICA, AUSTRALIA, AND AUSTRIA INCLUDED STRONG LANGUAGE DISAPPROVING TURKISH RESORT TO VIOLENCE. MOST OTHER EXPLANATIONS OF VOTE WERE INNOCUOUS ALTHOUGH MALIK OF USSR AND RICHARD OF UK ENGAGED IN SHARP BI-PLAY. AMB SCALI'S STATEMENT (SEPTEL) WAS NON-CONTENTIOUS AND EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF RETURN TO NEGOTIATING TABLE IN SPIRIT OF CONCILIATION.

7. OLCAY (TURKEY) DEPLORED PASSAGE OF RES BY SC AND LAUNCHED INTO SHARP ANTI-FRENCH RESPONSE TO EXCESSES IN LECOMPT'S STATEMENT. HE MAINTAINED DIGNIFIED TONE, DESPITE SLASHING RHETORIC. (WE UNDERSTAND ANTI-FRENCH STATEMENT EXPLICITY AUTHORIZED BY ANKARA.)

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8. IN ADDRESSING ISSUE OF RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS, OLCAY SHIFTED TOWARD MORE FLEXIBLE POSITION AMB SCALI HAD URGED. HE SAID "MY GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS DECLARED ITS READINESS TO TAKE PART IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT ESTABLISHING THE FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF THE INDEPENDENT FOREIGN STATE OF CYPRUS, HAS INSTRUCTED ME TO STATE THAT IT IS NOT ON THE BASIS OF THIS UNBALANCED, BIASED, UNEVEN, UNFAIR AND UNREALISTIC RESOLUTION THAT IT WILL DO SO.

"THE MOMENT THE COUNCIL WILL ADOPT, AND I HOPE VERY SOON, ANY OTHER RESOLUTION WHICH WILL NOT BEAR ALL THESE STIGMAS, MY GOVERNMENT WILL BE READY TO RECONSIDER HER ATTITUDE IN THIS RESPECT, AND WILL DO SO GLADLY."

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9. WE TOOK TWO STEPS DESIGNED TO MITIGATE TURKISH DISAPPOINTMENT. WHILE LECOMPT STILL SPEAKING, WE INFORMED TURKISH DEL WE NOT BEEN CONSULTED AND WERE SURPRISED BY TONE OF FRENCH STATEMENT. AT CONCLUSION OF MEETING, AMB SCALI TOLD OLCAY WE ADMIRED DIGNITY WITH WHICH TURKISH DEL HAD CONDUCTED ITSELF THROUGH DIFFICULT DAY.

10. OUR ESTIMATE IS THAT TURKS, WHILE DISAPPOINTED, FEEL THAT US HAS CONDUCTED ITSELF HONORABLY AND NOT BETRAYED ITS TURKISH ALLY. MID-LEVEL TURKISH DIPLOMAT, WHO HAD WORKED VERY HARD LOBBYING WITH USDEL AND OTHERS AGAINST RES, EXPRESSED SCORN FOR FRANCE AND "UNPRINCIPLED" MOTIVES WHICH PROMPTED RES. HE APPRECIATIVE OF FACT AMB SCALI HAD LEVELED WITH HIS AMBASSADOR PRIOR TO VOTE AND SAID IT PROBABLY "ALL TO THE GOOD" THAT US HAD NOT FOUND ITSELF IN ABSTENTION CAMP IN SOLE COMPANY OF SOVS AND IRAQ. ALTHOUGH AS RESULT OF RES HE SAID NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE POSTPONED FOR PERIOD OF TIME (HE SUGGESTED SEVERAL WEEKS), HE HOPEFUL US WILL TAKE NEW INITIATIVE BENEFICIAL TO ALL PARTIES IN VERY NEAR FUTURE, AND RECOGNIZES THAT US ABILITY TO BE HELPFUL WOULD HAVE BEEN WEAKENED IF US HAD ABSTAINED ON RES. WE CAN EXPECT TURKS TO PRESS US TO TAKE "PRO-TURKISH" INITIATIVE IN SC, BALANCING FRENCH RES, AS PREPREQUISITE TO RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: UNSC RESOLUTIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 AUG 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CollinP0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974USUNN02859
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740226-1207
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740838/aaaabgrz.tel
Line Count: 203
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CollinP0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 APR 2002 by martinml>; APPROVED <28 FEB 2003 by CollinP0>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CYPRUS IN SC SUMMARY: FRENCH DEL TOLD US THAT ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM PARIS
TAGS: PFOR, CY, FR, UN
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

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